

Message Text

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TO AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

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FOLLOWING TELEGRAM FROM BELGRADE DATED OCTOBER 20, 1977
SENT SECSTATE WASHDC INFO BONN, LONDON, MOSCOW, PARIS, ROME,
USNATO IS REPEATED TO YOU: QUOTE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE BELGRADE 7211

FOR EUR/RPM AND EUR/SOV FROM USDEL CSCE

EO 11652: NA

TAGS: CSCE OCON

SUBJ: BELGRADE CSCE -- US-SOVIET BASKET ONE EXCHANGE ON NON-
INTERVENTION AND HUMAN RIGHTS

SUMMARY: US AND SOVIETS CLASHED IN BASKET ONE WORKING
BODY OCTOBER 20 WHEN SOVIETS REACTED SHARPLY TO STRONG
STATEMENT BY AMBASSADOR GOLDBERG THAT NON-INTERVENTION
IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS PRINCIPLE CANNOT BE INVOKED TO
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PREVENT INQUIRY INTO HUMAN RIGHTS CONCERNS INCLUDING
CHARTER 77 TRIAL AND "REPRESSION OF INDIVIDUALS IN
THE SOVIET UNION AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA." SOVIET REP
(VORONTSOV) WARNED OF "MOST DANGEROUS" TURN OF EVENTS
BELGRADE MEETING HAS TAKEN. WHILE HE DID NOT THREATEN
THAT SOVIETS MIGHT LEAVE MEETING, GDR REP SAID THAT IF
US CONTINUES SUCH ATTACKS, DELEGATIONS WILL FIND THAT

IN MID-FEVRUARY ONLY THING THEY WILL BE ABLE TO AGREE
ON IN CONCLUDING DOCUMENT IS SINGLE SENTENCE
EXPRESSING THANKS TO YUGOSLAVIA FOR HOSPITALITY.
SUBSEQUENT TO AMBASSADOR GOLDBERG'S SPEECH, UK,
REFERRING DIRECTLY TO US INTERVENTION, AND SWEDEN
STRONGLY SUPPORTED WEST'S RIGHT TO SPEAK OUT ON HUMAN
RIGHTS VIOLATIONS. END SUMMARY.

1. AFTER SOVIETS HAD DELIVERED ROUTINE STATEMENT
COMBINING HOMILY ON NEED TO RESPECT NON-INTERVENTION
PRINCIPLE AND FULSOME PRAISE FOR SOVIET HUMAN RIGHTS
RECORD, AMBASSADOR GOLDBERG DELIVERED MAJOR
STATEMENT ON NON-INTERVENTION-HUMAN RIGHTS NEXUS. HE
SAID THAT SOVIETS, CZECHS, GDR AND BULGARIA "HAVE
RESORTED TO A COMPLETELY UNWARRANTED INTER-
PRETATION OF PRINCIPLE SIX IN THIS ATTEMPT TO AVOID
DISCUSSION OF CERTAIN MATTERS UNPALATABLE TO THEM."
AMBASSADOR GAVE BRIEF LEGAL ANALYSIS DEMONSTRATING
THAT SIXTH PRINCIPLE REFERS TO FORCIBLE ACTIONS.
AS ILLUSTRATION OF TYPES OF CASES COVERED BY
PRINCIPLE, HE MADE INDIRECT REFERENCE TO
1968 INVASION OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA. AMBASSADOR SAID THAT
US AND OTHER DELEGATIONS ARE ONLY FULFILLING
RESPONSIBILITY UNDER FINAL ACT FOLLOW-UP PROVISIONS
WHEN THEY "RAISE QUESTIONS ABOUT THE PERFORMANCE OF
OTHER STATES, WITH REFERENCE TO ALL SECTIONS OF THE
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FINAL ACT, AS THEY DID YESTERDAY IN REFERRING TO THE
PRAGUE TRIAL AND REPRESSION OF INDIVIDUALS IN THE
SOVIET UNION AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA SEEKING IN A PEACEFUL
WAY TO MONITOR THEIR COUNTRIES' IMPLEMENTATION."

2. AMBASSADOR GOLDBERG SAID THAT EAST BLOC CLAIM
TO BE SOLE JUDGE OF ITS IMPLEMENTATION RECORD AND
REFUSAL TO ENGAGE IN DIALOGUE "WOULD COMPLETELY
FRUSTRATE THE CONSTRUCTIVE WORK OF THIS CONFERENCE
AND REDUCE IT TO A MEETING IN WHICH WE ARE ENGAGED
IN MERE PLATITUDES." IF PROGRESS IS TO BE MADE,
HE SAID, "THIS ATTITUDE, THIS APPROACH CANNOT BE
ACCEPTED BY THIS CONFERENCE." AMBASSADOR PROMISED
THAT HE WOULD RESPOND SUBSTANTIVELY AND
CONSTRUCTIVELY TO ANY CRITICISMS OF US IMPLEMENTATION.
HE EXPRESSED HOPE THAT "WE CAN CONDUCT OUR DELIBERA-
TIONS WITH CANDOR AND FRANKNESS, AND IN THE SPIRIT
OF DIALOGUE," BUT HE ADDED THAT "TO MAKE SPEECHES AND
ISSUE PRONOUNCEMENTS WHILE AVOIDING REFERENCE
TO THE PRAGUE TRIAL WOULD BE A MOCKERY".

3. CZECHS AND GDR PUT IN IMMEDIATE POINT OF ORDER

"PROTESTS" TO US STATEMENT AND RESERVED RIGHT OF FURTHER REPLY. DURING COURSE OF SUBSEQUENT DEBATE, HUNGARY AND POLAND GAVE PREVIOUSLY-PREPARED, ROUTINE STATEMENTS ON INVIOABILITY OF FRONTIERS AND PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES WITHOUT REFERRING TO US STATEMENT. UK GAVE STRONG SUPPORTIVE SPEECH CITING FULL AGREEMENT WITH "SUBSTANCE OF ELOQUENT US STATEMENT." SWEDEN ALSO GAVE STRONG DEFENSE OF WESTERN STATES' RIGHT TO SPEAK OUT ON HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS FREE FROM RESTRAINT UNDER NON-INTERVENTION PRINCIPLE.

4. MAJOR EASTERN REACTION CAME ONLY WHEN SWISS CHAIRMAN WAS ABOUT TO ADJOURN MEETING. SOVIET AMBASSADOR, WHO LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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HAD JUST ASSUMED CHAIR, INSISTED ON RIGHT TO REPLY AT ONCE THOUGH SPEAKERS' LIST HAD CLOSED. HE PROTESTED "IN MOST DECISIVE WAY" ALLEGED US ATTEMPTS TO INTERVENE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF SOVEREIGN STATES. HE CHARACTERIZED AMBASSADOR GOLDBERG'S STATEMENT AS A "MOST PASSIONATE, EMOTIONAL SPEECH IN FAVOR OF INTERVENTION, A KIND OF AMERICAN DECLARATION OF INTERFERENCE." HE SAID THAT US SPEECH WAS AN "UNWORTHY AND INTOLERABLE" EFFORT TO DISTORT ENTIRE LETTER AND SPIRIT OF FINAL ACT. "POLITICALLY," HE SAID, "THE TURN OF EVENTS THAT WE HAVE HEARD TODAY IS MOST DANGEROUS. THIS IS SOMETHING WE CANNOT OVERLOOK. THE ROUTE ON WHICH THE US IS DRIVING US LEADS NOT ONLY TO UNPRODUCTIVE RESULTS BUT IS EXTREMELY DANGEROUS FOR THE ENTIRE TASK THAT WE UNDERTOOK AT HELSINKI. IF THIS CONTINUES, HE SAID, WHILE RESERVING RIGHT TO SPEAK FURTHER AT LATER DATE, "WE SHALL FIND OURSELVES IN A DIFFICULT POSITION."

5. CZECH, BULGARIAN AND GDR REPS ALSO EXERCISED RIGHTS OF REPLY TO "PROTEST" US STATEMENT ALONG SAME LINES USED BY SOVIET REP. BULGARIAN AND GDR REP EXPRESSED SURPRISE THAT THEY WERE CRITICIZED FOR THEIR ATTITUDE TO NON-INTERVENTION PRINCIPLE SINCE THEY HAD NOT YET ADDRESSED SUBJECT IN WORKING GROUP. COMMENT: THIS IS LITERALLY TRUE, BUT THEY HAD USED NON-INTERVENTION IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS ARGUMENT IN BASKET THREE EARLIER IN WEEK. END COMMENT. IN PERHAPS SHARPEST OF EASTERN STATEMENTS, GDR REP SAID THAT US WAS IN POOR POSITION TO COMPLAIN OF HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN OTHER COUNTRIES WHEN THERE ARE "THOUSANDS OF VIOLATIONS OF MOST BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS" LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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WITHIN ITS BORDERS EVERY DAY, AND IT HAS BEEN SO TARDY IN SIGNING OR RATIFYING SUCH BASIC DOCUMENTS AS UN COVENANTS AND GENEVA PROTOCOL ON CHEMICAL WARFARE. HE SAID THAT "WE MUST SAY CLEARLY AND DECISIVELY TO THE UNITED STATES THAT IT TAKES THE FULL RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE SUCCESS OR FAILURE OF THE CONFERENCE ON ITSELF WITH SUCH ATTACKS. IF THESE ATTACKS CONTINUE, WE WILL REACH MID-FEBRUARY WITH NOTHING TO PUT IN OUR FINAL DOCUMENT EXCEPT A SENTENCE THANKING YUGOSLAVIA FOR ITS HOSPITALITY."

6. US REP (OLIVER) EXERCISED RIGHT OF REPLY TO EXPRESS APPRECIATION FOR OPPORTUNITY TO ENGAGE IN DIALOGUE AND TO ASSOCIATE USDEL WITH EARLIER UK AND SWEDISH STATEMENTS.

7. WE ARE TRANSMITTING FULL TEXT OF AMBASSADOR GOLDBERG'S REMARKS TO DEPARTMENT BY SEPTTEL.
GOLDBERG
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